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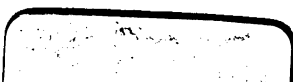
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THE
WALL OF HADRIAN:

WITH ESPECIAL

REFERENCE TO RECENT DISCOVERIES.

TWO LECTURES

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY,

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE,

ON MONDAY AND WEDNESDAY, NOV. 3RD & 5TH, 1873.

BY THE REV.

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THE WALL OF HADRIAN.

FIRST LECTURE.

ABOUT the year 79 Agricola brought his legions into the North of England. At that time a large part of the country must have been covered with forests. This would particularly be the case in the most fertile districts, those by the sides of rivers and streams. Partly on this account, and partly for security, the early inhabitants of the land seem to have planted their camps and villages in very elevated positions. Large stones, laboriously brought together, formed their lines of rampart; on these were heaped earth and smaller stones, and the whole was, doubtless, crowned with a strong palisading of timber. The circular huts formed within these lines were of similar construction. In many instances the huts were partially sunk in the ground, forming a shallow pit, roofed over by branches of trees thrust into the earth and brought together at the top. Over this a rude thatch was probably laid. The floors of these

kraals were flagged over in a rough manner. Not unfrequently it may be noticed that the stones in the centre of the building are reddened by the action of fire. Whether the smoke arising from this hearth or the cold it was intended to exclude were the greater evil, it would be hard to say.

Our rude forefathers would live largely upon the spoils of the chase. In a variety of ways they slew and ensnared the denizens of the forest. There is no reason to suppose that they did not occasionally cultivate patches of some hardy grain. When the skull of a mature Ancient Briton is examined, the teeth are usually found to be worn low down; indicating that the millstone had imperfectly done its work, and that the culinary art had not yet succeeded in materially relieving the labours of mastication. If, as we have supposed, the corn was chiefly cultivated in high situations, the harvest would often be a deficient one, and our hardy Britons would one and all of them know—what few of us have ever known—the pangs of real hunger.

No coins of the British period have been found in the camps of the North of England. Trade, therefore, can scarcely be said to have existed. They would no doubt barter their commodities for the products of other countries, but this could only be done upon a small scale. I cannot help thinking that the fine leaf-shaped swords, made of bronze (into the composition of which tin enters), that are occasionally found in ground tenanted by ancient British tribes, have been introduced from abroad, probably Phœnicia. These swords,

and the bronze shields which belong to the same era, show a degree of artistic skill much surpassing that exhibited by the other articles found in ancient British encampments.

The other objects to which I refer are querns, pottery of a very coarse kind, and stone implements. The very poor results of an excavation made in early British ground, as compared with Roman, is very striking. We are painfully impressed with a sense of the great privations which the ancient denizens of our hills had to endure. And yet these men sought to increase the miseries of their fellow men. Tribe fought with tribe—one clan made war upon another. Else why these flint arrow heads, these hatchets, these strong fortifications, these demarcations of territory—such as the Black Dike—these huge lines of earth-work like those at Stanwick? It is very strange that in every state of society, whether he has much to lose or nothing to lose, man is a fighting animal.

But I pass on. Of what religion were they? They have left us no records. They seem to have been totally destitute of any species of writing. As, however, in special localities the Romans of the third and fourth centuries have inscribed on their altars the names of gods unknown to classical mythology, such as Cocidius, Belatucader, Mogon, Vitiris, and others, the idea has been generally entertained that these were local deities, the gods of the people of the land; and that the Romans, fearful of their vengeance, paid them court along with their own gods. In doing so the

Romans followed the example of the Israelites. "Ahaz sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus which smote him; and he said because the gods of the kings of Syria help them, therefore will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me." 2 Chron. 24, xxviii.

The only other trace of anything like religious feeling that, so far as I know, they have left us, is to be found in those peculiar circular markings made



on rocks in the vicinity of their camps, and on the stones forming their graves. Mr. Greenwell, of Durham, first called attention to this subject in 1852; the late Mr. Tate, of Alnwick, and the late Sir James Simpson, have subsequently prosecuted the inquiry. The late Algernon, fourth Duke of Northumberland, took great interest in this subject. He thought that, if properly investigated,

it might throw some light upon the earliest and obscurest page of our history. In order to draw



attention to the subject, he asked me to procure engravings of all the examples I could find, and

have them sent to the principal libraries of Europe; which has been done. At the time this direction was given, neither Mr. Tate's book nor Sir James Simpson's had appeared. A copy of the lordly volume is, through the kindness of the present Duke of Northumberland, in our library. The woodcuts introduced (pages 4 and 5), by the kind permission of the Duke of Northumberland, will give an idea of their general appearance. They represent the stones of cists now preserved in Alnwick Castle. I cannot stay to give you the different theories which have been formed to explain these markings. One fact, however, must be mentioned—they are always to be found in the neighbourhood of British camps, and in greatest quantity near British burial places; they are not unfrequently carved upon the slabs forming ancient British graves. Mr. Greenwell, in a letter to me, which is embodied in the Introduction to the work already referred to, says:—

“ If we connect the circular marked stones with interments, we advance a considerable way towards an explanation of their meaning; for this implies they have a religious significance, and are in fact symbols which, like the sacred *tau* of Egypt, the fir-cone of Assyria, the triangular-shaped stone of India, and the cross of Christianity, figure and record some divine truth.”

This, I have no doubt, is the explanation of the whole matter; and I have as little doubt that the special truth taught is that death is not an eternal sleep, but the prelude to a never-ending being in another world. It is interesting to think of the untutored tenants of our hill tops, in days long

gone by, committing their dead to the ground in the good hope of meeting them again in happier circumstances.

Vast must have been the consternation of our British ancestors when tidings reached them that a new and powerful enemy was invading their territory. How would they from their fastnesses scowl upon the intruder? That they would bravely resist him there can be no doubt, but their frantic valour was of no avail. Agricola marched steadily on. The forests fell on the track of the Watling Street and the Maiden Way, so as to make a clear path, and prevent surprise. The road was paved. Night after night the legionary camp was thrown up, and each time in advance of that of the previous evening. At the approach of winter Agricola rested and enclosed his legions in ramparts of stone. Where these stationary camps were formed is not known with certainty. Chesters on the North Tyne, Carvoran on the Tipalt, and Birdoswald on the Irthing, may have been among them; but, doubtless, there were others.

The winter he spent in securing his conquest and making preparations for further advances. He wisely endeavoured to conciliate the people. Submit they must; he wished to show them that it was their interest to do so. The Britons had already learnt the superiority of the Romans in the art and accoutrements of war. Agricola now showed them the advantages and enjoyments which a high degree of civilization confers upon a people in a time of peace. In that winter, A.D. 80, for the first time, probably, were the ancient denizens of Tyneside made acquainted with the

mysterious art of recording thought by the means of letters. Then, for the first time here, was that wonderful alphabet traced which has descended down to our day, which is the vehicle of thought throughout the greater part of the civilized world, and which bids fair to supersede, ere long, the Chinese, the Arabic, and other ancient characters. The A B C, which in our childhood perhaps cost us some tears, are amongst the most valuable of the legacies which the Romans have left us. Even the small letters, those which the printers call the "lower case," are but modifications of the capitals—such modifications as would naturally occur when hastily written. In Roman inscriptions of a late date we see a near approach to them.

What Agricola's *School Board* in the year 80 did in the Newcastle of that day and contiguous parts is very problematical. You can cut a Transatlantic steam ship in two, giving her greater length, boiler space, and engine power; but mind cannot be manipulated in any such way. It generally takes two or three generations to raise, under the most favourable circumstances, a people from a state of barbarism to a condition of even moderate civilization. The Ancient Briton, after being washed and steamed in the Roman bath—and scraped with the strigil—a process which he would probably think was very disagreeable—and even after having been shown the sports of the amphitheatre and circus, would still, like the country mouse in the fable, be ready to exclaim—

Give me again my hollow tree,
A crust of bread, and liberty!

Agricola, however, held him fast. He left

garrisons in the several forts which he had reared in that narrow part of England extending from the Tyne to the Solway, and marched forward to the subjugation of Scotland. He had planted the Roman eagle in the Orkney Isles when he was recalled by the orders of Domitian in A.D. 84. It is said that at this period he contemplated the subjugation of Ireland. What the subsequent history of that island would have been if, in the spring time of its being, its rival tribes had been consolidated by the firm hand of a conqueror, its people rendered subject to the law, and their minds disciplined by the literature of Rome, it is vain to conjecture. England was the better of the unpalatable process—Ireland might have been so too.

The Roman governors who succeeded Agricola being less able and politic than he, held with difficulty the conquests which he had made. In the year 119 the state of affairs in the North of England was sufficiently grave to warrant the personal interference of the Emperor himself. Accordingly at that period Hadrian landed on our shores, and adopted measures which, with the exception of occasional periods of disaster, secured the subjection of the country to Roman authority for about three centuries. He drew a fortification from sea to sea, consisting of a stone wall on the north, and lines of earthen ramparts on the south, with a military way between them. In connection with these lines of defence he built stationary camps, mile-castles, and turrets for the accommodation of his soldiery whether in camp or keeping guard. This line of fortification was not intended as a

mere fence to shut out a northern foe; it was intended to protect the troops from surprise either from the north or south, and it was intended to form a basis of operation against an enemy in whatever quarter he might show himself.

I have said that Hadrian built stationary camps in connection with his Wall. He no doubt made use of such of Agricola's as suited his purpose, but he must have added many of his own. These permanent camps contained an area of from three to six acres, and held a cohort, which usually consisted of six hundred men, but sometimes of a thousand. These military cities were surrounded with very strong stone walls, some of which are even now standing, nine feet high and eight feet thick. In form the stations were quadrangular, having bold gateways in or near the centre of each rampart—north, south, east, and west. Roadways about eighteen feet wide extended from gate to gate, crossing each other in the centre of the camp at right angles. Numerous other streets gave access to the various garrison buildings, but these were very narrow—often not more than three feet wide. It was important for military purposes that the camp should show as small a front to the enemy as possible: hence, with the exception of the public halls, the buildings within the walls are very small and crowded closely together.

One of these public halls would be the court of judicature. The commander of each station would in it dispense justice to the district. At first, military law would prevail; but when the country became settled, when the soldiers formed matrimonial alliances, when property was acquired, the peace-

ful laws of Rome, those laws which Gaius propounded in the reign of Hadrian and his immediate successors, and in a revised form were afterwards issued under the title of the Pandects of Justinian—laws which it is asserted by some authorities form the foundation of the Common Law of England—these would guide the decisions of the prefect or the tribune.

In confirmation of the statement that order and the due administration of law prevailed during the era of Roman domination in the North of England, let me refer you to the fragment of an inscription which has just been unearthed at Carrawburgh, the



PROCOLITIA of the Romans. It is part of a tombstone; the only letters visible on it are these—

[CO]H I BAT	Cohortis primæ Batavorum
HILARIO	Hilario
HEREDES F. C.	heredes faciendum curaverunt.

of the first cohort of Batavians
to Hilarius
his heirs caused this to be erected.

The deceased has been a soldier in the first cohort of Batavians, and his heirs have charged themselves with setting up this stone to his memory. This is by no means a solitary instance of *heirs* being mentioned in inscriptions. On a stone found at Watercrock, near Kendal, an inscription exists which may be translated:—" and Publius Rivatus, freedmen of the deceased, his heirs and soldiers of the twentieth legion, have erected this memorial. If any one shall make another interment in this sepulchre let him pay to our Lords the Emperors" (The beginning and the termination of the inscription are illegible.) Now where heirs exist the rights of property are acknowledged, and justice would, probably, be administered with tolerable impartiality.

But before I leave this apparently insignificant fragment of a stone found at Carrawburgh, I may indulge in a further digression to show you a second use to which it may be put. There exists a book, compiled, it is believed, about A.D. 403, called *Notitia Dignitatum*. It is the army list of the day, giving the head quarters of each officer in the Roman army. Treating of Britain, it tells us, among other things, that "the tribune of the first cohort of Batavians was placed at PROCOLITIA,

on the line of the Wall." Now when we find one stone, and especially when we find several, at the camp now called Carrawburgh, which bear the name of the first cohort of Batavians, we are entitled to conclude that the Carrawburgh of the moderns is the PROCOLITIA of the Romans.

Here are two other stones that have just been dug up at the same place—they are both fragments of tombstones. These as well as the former stone were found lying promiscuously in a mass of rubbish in the apartment marked (D) in the plan subsequently given.



D	[M]	Diis Manibus
LONGI	[NVS]	Longinus
BVC · C[OH]	[I BAT]	buccinator cohortis primæ Batavorum

To the Divine Shades. Longinus the trumpeter
of the first cohort of Batavians.



[D] M
S. MILENI
[SIGNI] FERO
[COH] I BAT .

Diis Manibus
. . . s Mileni (?)
signifero
cohortis primæ Batavorum

To the Divine Shades. To Milenis the standard-bearer of the first cohort of Batavians.

I now return to the public buildings of the stations. There may be observed within the area of the fine station of Chesters, on the North Tyne, a quadrangular space less encumbered with buildings than the rest of the camp. Mr. Clayton, to whom the station happily belongs, has excavated the southern side of this platform. He finds that there had been originally here a series of porches, opening into an open space. By and bye the other sides will be cleared, and if they should present

the same appearance the inference will be almost irresistible that this was the market place of the station. Certain traffickers would sit at tables seated under the porches, the general public would stand in the centre. When extensive excavations were made at Risingham on the Rede Water some years ago, I noticed a similar arrangement.

The commissariat officers must have had great difficulties in providing sufficient supplies of food for the garrisons which manned the Wall. They would naturally encourage the country people to bring them their superfluous produce.

Here again we see the necessity for the due dispensation of justice. Commerce cannot be maintained unless dishonesty be repressed. That the Roman soldiers were not unwilling to take advantage of some unsuspecting Briton we have ample proof. False coins, imitations of the Roman silver coin (the *denarius*), are not unfrequently dug up in Roman stations; some consist simply of lead, others are of iron silvered over. These were doubtless intended to pass current among those who knew no better.

We now turn to the smaller buildings of a station—the ordinary habitations of the military. These were constructed of carefully dressed stones—smaller than those used in the Wall or the outer ramparts of the station. The walls of the barracks are usually three feet thick. We meet with no windows in the houses; but in nearly every station pieces of window glass are found. There must therefore have been window frames. It is probable that only the lower portion of the houses

were formed of masonry, and that the upper parts were made of timber. This was the mode of building adopted at Babylon and Nineveh. The greater part of Rome itself, previous to the great fire in the reign of Nero, was constructed in a similar manner—stone below, timber above. At Pompeii at the present hour we see the same thing exemplified; the lower parts of the houses remain, while the upper story being of timber has perished.

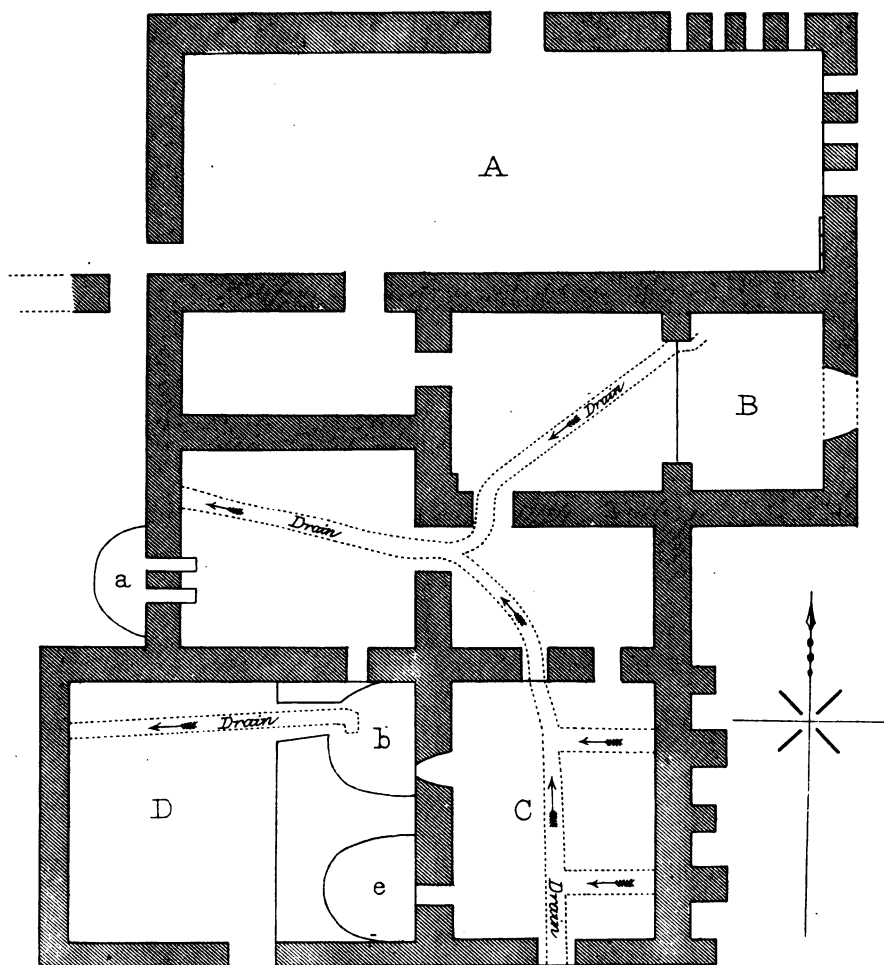
The Romans warmed their houses, as is well-known, by conducting hot air under the floors of their rooms, and by means of flue pipes taken up their walls. In all probability we will soon be obliged to follow—with some modifications perhaps—their example. The Romans burned coal as well as wood. When the east gateway of Housesteads was excavated, about a cart load of coals was found in one of its subsidiary chambers. When Mr. Shanks excavated the south-east corner of the station at Risingham, he found a quantity of coal in it which he burned in his own grate. In a chamber of the recently explored *forum* at Chesters, there is at this moment a mass of coal which the Romans left there. It is, however, speedily evanishing, and taking its place in the cabinets of the curious.

Besides the dwellings within the ramparts of the stations, numerous structures are found outside the walls. These suburban houses are generally protected by some defile, or stream, and whenever the nature of the ground admits of it they are planted on a slope facing the sunny south. These suburbs seem to have served a double



Remains of Suburban Building.

PROCOLITIA.



Scale of Feet.
Feet 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 Feet.

A. Reid, Newcastle on Tyne.

purpose. They accommodated the camp-followers, and gave a secure dwelling place to such of the natives as had given in their adherence to the Roman rule. They likewise afforded more comfortable accommodation to the commander of the fort than he could obtain in the more confined space of the station itself. Without the walls of most of the stations a comfortable and roomy villa has been observed, which must have been occupied by some person of importance. In times of peace he could live here in security. When war threatened he would be obliged to take shelter within the walls of the camp; here, too, many of the camp-followers and friendly natives would seek temporary protection. Altogether each camp would be the centre of a considerable population, chiefly military, but partly civil and commercial.

One of these suburban dwellings outside the west rampart of *Procolitia* (Carrawburgh) has been excavated by Mr. Clayton this summer. The diagram on the opposite page shows the ground plan of it. The building was of a substantial and somewhat elaborate character; the floors were laid on pillars of stone or brick. It was carefully drained. Most of its apartments were heated with hot air, the furnaces which supplied the heat (*a*) being at its west side. It was furnished both with hot and cold baths (*b, c*), the means by which the water was introduced being discernible. The date of this villa has been ascertained approximately. Between two stones of a main wall, and near its foundation, were found two coins, unworn by circulation and perfectly fresh, one of Claudius

Gothicus, the other of Claudius Tacitus; the latter of these emperors reigned but six months, dying A.D. 276. The building, therefore, cannot have been erected prior to this date, and probably not long after it. No doubt it has been a reconstruction, occupying the place of another which had become dilapidated by age, or had fallen a prey to the ravages of the enemy.

It is by no means an uncommon thing to find inscriptions which have been attached to buildings stating that the structure in question had been erected from the ground (*a solo*) in place of one which had become ruined through age (*vetustate conlabsum*). This gives us an impressive idea of the length of time that the Romans remained masters of the North of England. Even were these inscriptions wanting, we would still be able to conclude that many of the temples and halls which we see were reconstructions of more ancient edifices, for they contain, in their walls and floors, fragments of columns and capitals, which have aforetime occupied more conspicuous positions.

One of the rooms in the villa which was excavated last summer (C) was flagged with slabs, among which were the large tombstones of which I am now to speak. They were blackened with the soot of the hypocaust. To the fragments of three others which were found in another apartment (D), I have already turned your attention. The stone shown in the woodcut opposite has been a good deal injured, the upper and lower portions having been chiselled off, in order, probably, to make it lie flat in the floor. The letters are so



feeble that I am not sure that we have as yet been able to read them correctly. The inscription is something like this—

D · M ·	Diis Manibus.
AEL COM[A]NDO	Æliæ Commando
ANNORVM XXXII	annorum triginta duo.
NOBLIANVS DECV	Noblianus decurio
CONIVGI CARISS[I]M P	Conjugi carissimæ posuit.

To the divine shades.

Ælia Commandus*

aged thirty-two.

Noblianus (Nobilianus ?) the decurion
erects this to his very dear wife.

I do not know what the object represented at the head of this stone has been, it is so much mutilated. Perhaps it has been a table on which are placed some of the viands constituting the funeral feast. The stone is broken into three pieces.

The most curious thing about this stone and the other found in the floor of this chamber is, that stones devoted to the Divine Shades should have been put to so ignoble a use. This is, I may remark, by no means a solitary instance of a tombstone being devoted to an ordinary purpose. Many of you may remember that the hearthstone in the mile-castle at Cawfields consisted of a rounded flag which had originally been a tombstone of the ordinary form, inscribed "To the Divine Shades. Dagvaldus, a soldier of Pannonia, who lived . . . years. His wife Pusinna erected this memorial." Human nature is the same in

* There are many instances of the *cognomina* of females having masculine terminations, for example—Ælia Demetrus, Clodia Optatus, &c.

every age. The Saxons used the materials left them by the Romans for the erection of their structures; the Normans used the carved stones of the Saxons without scruple as common building stones in their churches; the architects of the Early English and Decorated and Perpendicular periods paid no respect to the works of their predecessors—they hacked and hewed them as they pleased; and so it will probably be to the end of time—make what outcry we please against such desecration.

Another stone found in the floor of this suburban villa, and discoloured with the smoke of the hypocaust, has also been a tombstone. It consists of the effigy of a soldier, but there is no inscription attached to it. The woodcut on the next page exhibits it. For this illustration, and all the others relating to PROCOLITIA, we are indebted to the liberality of Mr. Clayton. The soldier is fully equipped. He holds in his right hand what I take to be a standard; on the top of it is the figure of a bull; at the bottom are three spikes, apparently for fixing it in the ground. In his left hand is his shield. By his left side is a sword, the scabbard of which is held in its place by a belt thrown over the right shoulder. Around his waist is a belt or girdle fastened by a buckle.

It was a very common custom to carve upon the tombstone of a deceased person his effigy, besides stating his name and age. As this must usually have been hastily done, and done by a fellow-soldier, we need not be surprised that the carving is occasionally rude; it is often, however, very effective.



UTTING.

In the chamber marked (B) in the plan was found a small altar lying promiscuously amongst the rubbish. It reads—



D[E]AE · FOR
VITALIS
FECIT
LIB · MER

Deæ Fortunæ
Vitalis
fecit
libens merito

To the goddess Fortune
Vitalis
erected [this altar]
willingly to a deserved
object.

All who have paid any attention to the Wall and its antiquities are familiar with a class of inscription called centurial stones. They have inscribed on them the name of a body of troops designated by the name of their centurion or commander. The general opinion entertained of them is that

they were meant to show that the portion of the Wall or other building to which they were attached was erected by the troop named on it. Few of these stones have been found in their original position. During the excavations at PROCOLITIA one was discovered *in situ*. It was built into the west wall of a square chamber attached to the west rampart of the station. The wood-cut shows it.



○ THRVP
NIANA
P XXIII

Centuria Thrupo-
niana
[per] passus [pedes?] viginti quatuor

The Thruponian century erected twenty-four feet (or paces) of this building.

Thruponiana seems to be a corrupt form of the word Tryphoniana.

I now come to another feature of the Wall on which light has this summer been thrown.

Besides the stations with their suburbs, there were at the distance of a Roman mile along its whole course mile-castles of about sixty-six feet square. Several of these have at former times been excavated by Mr. Clayton, the great guardian and expositor of the Wall, and their nature thoroughly ascertained. As I described them in my last lecture, I shall not now further refer to them.

It seems certain, however, from the testimony of Gordon and Horsley, both of whom wrote early in last century, that besides the mile-castles, exploratory turrets about twelve feet square formed an essential part of the Wall. The castles were guard chambers, but the turrets to which we are now to call attention, were stone sentry boxes. In Horsley's time most of these had disappeared; being less substantial than the Wall and the mile-castles, they more readily became a prey to the spoiler. From the best observations which our great Northumbrian antiquary was able to make, he came to the conclusion that there had been four of them between each mile-castle, and that they were 308 yards apart. One of the most interesting of the discoveries that have recently been made in the mural district is the finding of one of these turrets. Mr. Clayton, on removing the *debris* from the fine stretch of Wall lying between Tower Tye and Limestone Bank, has completely unearthed one of these structures. The front wall of the building (that on the south) has been removed, with the exception of its lowest course, but its whole form is shown. The great Wall which

forms its back is standing seventeen courses high. As Mr. Clayton has written a paper upon the subject, which was reported in the newspapers at the time, and will appear in the forthcoming number of the *Archæologia Æliana*, I need not here dwell upon it. The woodcut, kindly lent by Mr. Clayton,



shows its general appearance. The walls of the turret inclose a space which measures in the interior 11 feet 4 inches by 11 feet 10 inches. They vary in thickness from 3 feet and a half to 4 feet and a half. The great Wall on both sides of it increases in thickness from 7 feet 2 inches to 9 feet 4 inches. The turret is as it were let into the Wall, so that the great Wall which forms its northern wall is there only 4 feet 6 inches thick. The aperture of the doorway is 3 feet wide. A centurial stone here

shown was found amongst the *debris* on the north side of the Wall, inscribed



Q ANTONI [1] FELICIS

The century of Antonius Felix.

indicating that the force under the command of that centurion had built this part of the Wall.

Coins of Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, and Constantine the Great were turned up in the course of the digging. "It is singular," as Mr. Clayton remarks, "that none of the coins of the numerous intervening emperors have been found." And it is specially singular that none of Severus's, or his immediate successors, have been found, if, as some assert, Severus built the Wall.

Besides coins, various other articles have been found, showing that the soldiers who kept watch and ward there were properly provisioned. There were turned up fragments of millstones, a large quantity of the coarser descriptions of pottery, some Samian ware, broken glass, and the bones and horns of animals. The soldiers were probably not relieved so frequently as our sentries are.

The Wall to the west of this turret has just been

cleared from the rubbish which has encumbered it for centuries, and it now presents to the eye of the antiquary a scene which cannot be equalled on this side of the Alps. Before leaving the neighbourhood of the spot where this turret has been found, I would like to mention one little fact to which my attention has been called within the last few weeks. All who have examined the cuttings for the fosse of the Wall, and the fosse of the Vallum on the top of Limestone Bank, have been amazed at the amount of labour which has been expended in dislodging such vast masses of whin rock. Some of the blocks that lie upon the edge of the ditches are from 10 to 13 tons weight. How the cutting could be made without the use of gunpowder is a puzzle to many. In the North ditch there is now a mass of "whin" which I have always regarded as a block which, after having been lifted to the edge of the fosse, had rolled back. I am now convinced that it is a portion of the native rock which has never been removed. The workmen on the Wall, when this part of their heavy task had been almost completed, seem to have got tired and left this piece remaining. But the point to which I wish to call attention is, that on the top of this stone there are several lines of wedge-holes. It had been intended in these holes to insert wedges which, when driven home, would have caused the mass of basalt to fall into several pieces. This had not been done; and this stone has been left to reveal to us one of the modes, at least, by which the ancient excavators executed their serious task.

On former occasions I have described the military way which accompanied the mural fortress from one end of it to the other, and I have hazarded the opinion that it was the most important feature of the whole design. It lies between the Wall and the Vallum, and is protected by both. The other roads which crossed the Wall north and south were also of great military significance, enabling the troops easily to concentrate their force on any desired spot.

It is known to most that Roman roads were furnished with mile-stones to enable the traveller to know the distance he had traversed. These mile-stones were usually of a most substantial form—being about six feet high and a foot-and-a-half thick. They usually have on them the name of the emperor under whose auspices they were set up. We have most of us been long familiar with the Roman mile-stone close to the station of VINDOLANA, Chesterholm, which stands upon the very spot where the soldiers of Hadrian (probably) put it. In the course of my recent wanderings, in order to provide materials for the *Lapidarium*, I have been brought into the august presence of another *milliarium* still maintaining its post by the side of a Roman road.* It has been much acted on by the weather, the softer parts having decayed, and the harder (quartz veins) standing out in relief. It is near Temple Sowerby, in Westmoreland; and the road in this part being

* At a short distance from this spot, by the side of the same Roman road, was lately discovered a deposit of 157 *denarii*, extending from Nero down to Commodus; they are preserved by William Crackanthorpe, Esq., the proprietor of the land.

wider than usual, and wider than is wanted, the mile-stone is partially hid by a quantity of furze, heather, and blackberry bushes. The woodcut exhibits it. Long may it stand! As I have gazed on it, time after time, I seemed to read a poem of intense interest. The battered block told of changes in dynasties and empires. It told of



the time when Roman legions marched past it, strong in the faith that their power was never to wane, and it bore testimony to the fact of the degeneracy and downfall of that once mighty people. It told of Saxon triumphs and of Saxon discomfiture; of the lofty bearing of the Normans, and of their gradual blending with the earlier races. It seemed to tell of the rush of armies in the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the days of the Pretender. It could bear witness to the

vast advance in numbers, intelligence, and power of that people who, when it was reared, were trodden under the foot of Rome; but as to what shall be the future fate of Britain—whether it, too, like ancient Rome, must wither and fade, or whether it shall maintain its integrity and continue to be a blessing to the world, that mile-stone is silent. It is well, perhaps, that the future is hid from us.

There is another stone in Westmoreland which ought to have been of even higher interest than the Chesterholm or the Temple Sowerby stone. It bears on it the name of Hadrian, and is marked “VIII. miles;” but the name of the place from which the distance was reckoned has been obliterated. It stood on the road leading from Kirkby Lonsdale to Sedbergh, near to a place called Hawking Hall. It still is near the spot where Roman soldiers put it, but not in the place. It has been removed to a field hard by in order to be used as a rubbing post for cattle. You all know the exclamation which escaped from the lips of Sir Walter Scott, when told by the Rev. Anthony Hedley that the owner of the soil had blasted the rock on which was carved the figure of Rob of Risingham—“I wish the stane were in his guts.” It is best, perhaps, to be silent on such occasions; but really it is very provoking to have the charm which it has taken seventeen centuries to gather round an object dissipated in a moment by the passion and caprice of some unlettered individual.

In connexion with the roads which enabled the

Roman soldiers to traverse easily any part of this northern district, we may expend a few sentences upon the bridges which were an essential part of the system. We know that a bridge was built across the Tyne at Newcastle by Hadrian, and that the Roman station at that place was called PONS ÆLI in consequence. Opposite the site of the Roman station at Corbridge, there are still to be seen the remains of a Roman bridge in the river; and the abutments and the piers of the bridge thrown over the North Tyne at Chesters form, as is well known, one of the most interesting objects which England has to show to the antiquary. All of these bridges, there is reason to believe, had a horizontal road-way of timber, resting upon stone piers. Amongst the recent discoveries bearing upon the Wall is to be reckoned the finding of the piles and the framework on which the foundations of one of the Roman piers of the Newcastle bridge rested. I will refer to it as briefly as possible. It is quite certain that three bridges have been thrown over the Tyne at Newcastle. The Roman, the Mediæval, and the Modern. As I have already said, the Roman bridge had a horizontal road-way of timber. I have no doubt that, like every part of the mural fortress, it had again and again suffered from the ravages of the enemy, it being as often restored when the garrison at PONS ÆLI had rallied its forces and driven off the foe. After the departure of the Romans, the bridge would be sustained with difficulty, but still it must have been maintained.

In the life of St. Oswin, written by a monk of

St. Albans, who does not give his name, but who came to reside at Tynemouth in the year 1111, we have a notice of the state of matters in relation to it. He writes in Latin, but I give a literal translation of his words:—

“When that most victorious King William, who with a strong hand brought England under the sway of the Normans, was returning (A.D. 1072) from Scotland with a powerful army, near the place which is now called Newcastle, but was formerly called Monkchester, he encamped on the river Tyne. For it happened at the time that the river itself was so turned from its usual course by the overflowing of its banks, that it could no where be crossed by fording, nor was there a passage over it by means of the bridge which is now seen there. But the Normans, accustomed to live by plunder, forced a contribution for themselves and their horses from the surrounding places. But because the poverty of the locality afforded no adequate supply for so great a multitude, hearing that the wealth of the district was deposited at Tynemouth, they go to the place in haste, in order to seize what was necessary for their subsistence.”

King William probably passed over the bridge on his way to Scotland, but the people of the district, who were ill affected towards him, would naturally destroy it, so as to intercept him on his return. Besides burning the road-way, they may have thrown down some courses of the stones of the piers. These injuries seem to have been repaired before the time that the monk wrote his life of St. Oswin, for he speaks of a bridge as then existing. What an interesting peep this is which the monk gives us of the great and wealthy town of Newcastle, in the year 1072. The king had to go to Tynemouth to get provender for his army. How amazed he would be if he could see

our Tuesday's market now, and watch the enormous quantities of grain and provisions which are daily brought into it !

It is doubtless a digression, but I feel so grateful to our monk for this paragraph, and knowing that he introduces it simply as a peg on which to hang a miracle, that I think I must, out of respect to him, give it to you.

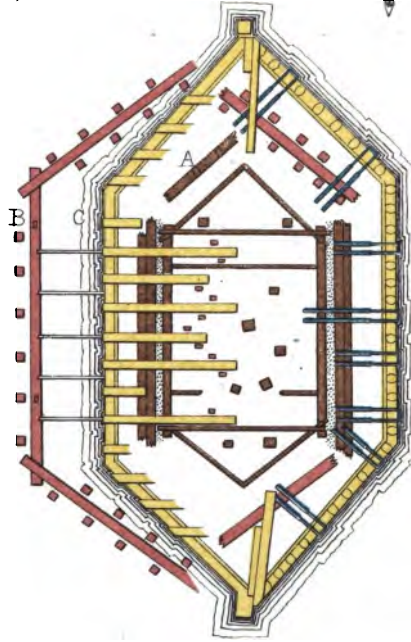
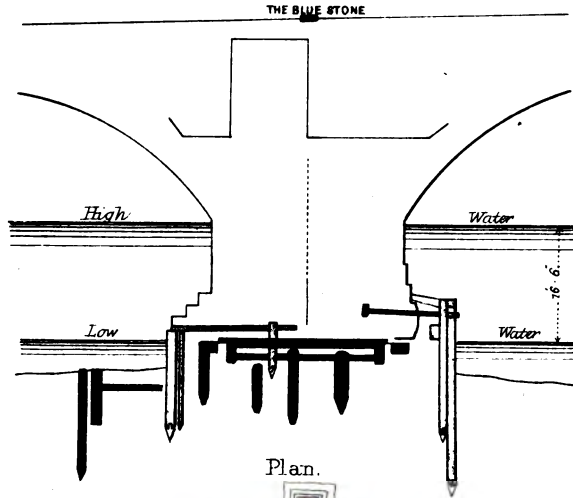
"One Robert, a captain of the king's, had under him a turbulent mass of soldiery ; he had also a horse which was a great favourite with him. The soldiers seized, unknown to him, the provisions and grain of the convent, and both ate themselves and gave to their horses. The horses being very hungry, ate ravenously ; when lo ! they all became mad, the favourite charger of the captain amongst the number. They bit themselves, they severed their own tongues, and spat them out ; they kicked and bit one another. When the captain learned the condition of his favourite charger, he was sorely troubled, and pondered how he might best appease the indignation of the holy martyr. He dedicated a rich and costly robe to the saint, and commanded it to be laid most reverently upon his body. And now another miracle. At the very instant when the pall was laid upon the tomb, the horse was restored to its former soundness, and the captain was transported with joy."

The monk does not tell us what became of the other horses ; and, what is more to be regretted, he does not tell us how the king and his army got over the river.

We now return to our proper subject—the bridge. The bridge, which I take to have been substantially the Roman bridge, after being frequently repaired, became so much injured by a great fire, which, as Matthew of Paris tells us, destroyed the greatest part of the borough of



Sectional Elevation.



DRAWINGS OF A PIER OF TYNE BRIDGE.

Showing the timber framework of three periods.

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|---|
| (A) Roman work | A.D. 120 | ■ |
| (B) Mediaeval work | A.D. 1250 | ■ |
| (C) Modern work | A.D. 1775 | □ |

SCALE OF 0 5 10 20 30 40 FEET.

A Reid, Newcastle on Tyne.

Newcastle, A.D. 1248, that it became necessary to rebuild it. This was done mainly through bishops and archbishops granting indulgences to all who would in any way aid the work.

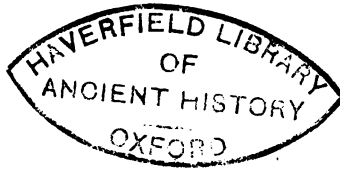
In making this new structure, such portions of the old as seemed suitable were made use of. Pennant, in his *Tour*, says, "I cannot help thinking that part of the Roman bridge remained here till very lately; for from the observation of workmen upon the old piers, they seem originally to have been formed without any springs for arches."

The Mediæval bridge was destroyed by a great flood, on the 17th November, 1771; and a new one erected. In removing the piers of the old bridge, Roman masonry was detected, and several Roman coins were found in it.

It would appear, however, that the whole of the Roman foundations were not taken away, for in making the necessary preparations for the swing bridge, now in the course of construction, Roman work was noticed, and Roman coins found. On the opposite page, we have a diagram, copied from the drawings in the Tyne Commissioners' office, showing the condition of the third pier from the Gateshead side (the one which carried the blue stone dividing the counties) after the stone superstructure was removed. Here we have the piles and the framework of three foundations. The size of each platform is different, the mode of construction different, the age of the timber is manifestly different. The lowest, which I take to be the Roman foundation, consists of smaller timber

(they are all oak) than the others; it is jet black, the outside of it is friable, but the heart is strong but fibrous.

We have not time to dwell further upon this subject. I think I have said enough to prove with absolute certainty that the timber, of which this is a specimen, was laid in the bed of the Tyne in the year 120; the tree of which it is a part, was a vigorous plant—the sap flowing freely in its veins—in that great epoch of man's history, when “SHE brought forth her first born son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger.”



SECOND LECTURE.

ON Monday evening I drew your attention to the arrival of the Romans amongst us, describing briefly the Wall which they built, and dwelling upon those portions of the great structure which have yielded recent information to the industry of the explorer. We will now inquire what troops garrisoned the Wall, and what was the condition of the people of the district during the period of the Roman domination.

It would not be politic in the Romans to exterminate the native inhabitants. They would render them obedient to their will, and make use of them as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Doubtless they were made to bear the brunt of the toil (under proper guardianship and direction) in building the Wall; and afterwards they would be burden-bearers and cultivators of the soil.

The Roman force consisted of two classes of soldiery—the legionary troops and the auxiliaries. The legions, for the most part, consisted of native Romans; their arms and armour were of the most approved kind, and their discipline and skill were brought to the highest pitch of perfection. Each legion usually consisted of 6000 men.

During the greater part of the period we are contemplating, there were three legions in Britain. The second, which landed here in the reign of Claudius, under the command of Vespasian; the sixth, which came over with Hadrian; and the twentieth, which came in the reign of Claudius. All of these assisted in the building of the Wall, and have left inscriptions behind them. When not engaged in active service, they were permanently quartered—the sixth legion at York; the twentieth legion at the city of Chester; the second at Caerleon in Monmouthshire.

In addition to these we have very recently found traces of other three legions—the seventh, the eighth, and the twenty-second. It may be interesting to you to know how this little discovery was made. It will show you that antiquaries do not draw quite so largely upon their imagination as they are supposed to do. When the Tyne Commissioners were deepening the mouth of the harbour at Shields, the dredger one day brought up a bronze object, which upon examination proved to be the boss of a Roman shield. In the centre of it is the representation of the Roman eagle. In the four corners are personifications of the four seasons. Under the representations of the seasons, in the upper corners of the boss, we have engraved the words, LEG. VIII. AVG., that is—*Legio octava Augusta*, the eighth legion, surnamed the Imperial. Besides this, on the left hand margin of the plate, we have, in punctured letters, the name of the owner of the shield—“Junius Dubitatus, of the company of Julius

Magnus the centurion." When I first saw this boss, and when I published an account of it in the first Part of the *Lapidarium*,* I was at a loss to account for it. The eighth legion was quartered somewhere near Mayence, on the Rhine, during the greater part of the period we have now to do with. I thought that Junius Dubitatus was but a solitary traveller, coming to Britain for his own purposes, and that, embarking at what is now the city of Rotterdam, he had crossed the German Ocean in safety, but had miserably perished, as so many have done since, on the Herd Sands. So much for the eighth legion.

Again; my friend Mr. Robert White, now, alas! no more, told me of a stone he had seen in the garden-wall at Abbotsford, mentioning the twentieth legion. On the chance that the stone might have been brought from the North of England I went to Abbotsford to see it. The woodcut represents it. One edge of the stone has been broken off, and instead of a vexillation of the twentieth legion we should read "of the twenty-second." This is rendered plain by the word which follows — *primigenia*. This word, signifying primitive, was the epithet of the twenty-second legion, whereas *Valeria victrix* was the epithet of the twentieth. On making enquiry from various quarters I found that

* A work suggested by Algernon, fourth Duke of Northumberland, and published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. It gives an account, with abundant illustrations, of all the Monuments of the Roman Rule found in the four northern counties of England.

the stone did not belong to Scotland, but was brought from the Roman station at Plumpton, near Penrith. It was fortunate that that enquiry



was made at the time it was, for the stone had not been put upon record, and the only persons in the village of Plumpton who could give any account of it are in the sear and yellow leaf.

The next step in our investigation is this. There exists in the ancient city of Ferentinum, the modern Ferentino, not far from the modern Viterbo, in central Italy, a marble tablet, recording the rank and honours of Pontius Sabinus, a Roman general. From the copy of the inscription which I have placed upon the wall you will see that it says, amongst other things, that upon the Parthian expedition, conducted by the deified Trajan, Sabinus obtained various distinctions—a

hasta pura, a *vexillum* (or standard), and a mural crown. This fixes the date of the inscription—Trajan had been deified and therefore dead—the reigning emperor was his successor Hadrian. Next we have the important information that in the Britannic expedition he commanded three vexillations, each a thousand strong; one of the seventh legion surnamed *Gemina*, one of the eighth legion surnamed *Augusta*, and another of the twenty-second legion styled *Primigenia*.

Thus then we have decisive proofs of detachments of these three legions having been in Britain, and I have shown you the foot prints of two of them. I think also I have detected a trace of the seventh legion, but on this we cannot at present enter.

We now come to the auxiliary troops. It was a distinctive part of the policy of the Romans to use people whom they had conquered in conquering and in keeping in order other people. There was a double advantage in this, which I need not stop to point out. Troops were brought into Britain from Syria, from Africa, and from all parts of Europe, to keep the Britons in order, while the brave inhabitants of our own isle who might be dangerous to the Roman rule at home were taken off to the ends of the earth to fight strange enemies there. We have certain evidence of two cohorts of Britons 1000 strong being quartered in Turkey. These foreign or auxiliary forces the Romans used freely, sparing their own. Thus you will remember that when at the battle of the Grampians the Caledonians were slow to come

on, Agricola ordered two Tungrian cohorts and three Batavian cohorts to attack them, keeping his legionary forces in reserve.

The whole of the stations on the Wall were garrisoned by auxiliary troops, amounting in all to about 15,000 men. No two contiguous stations were occupied by troops of the same nationality; by this means conspiracy was avoided. Let us take an example of the way in which the troops were disposed. At Benwell there were Spaniards, at Rutchester Frisians, at Halton Chesters there was the Savinian ala, but we do not know its nationality, at Chesters we have Spaniards again (Asturians), at Carrawburgh we have Batavians, at Housesteads Tungrians (from Belgium), at Chesterholm Gauls, at Great Chesters Spaniards again, at Carvoran Dalmatians, &c. You may ask, How do we know what auxiliary troops were in Britain? One source of information, of course, is the inscriptions which they have left behind them. Of the number of these you may have some idea when I tell you, that in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, to which I have already referred, we have described upwards of 900 memorials. All of these do not contain the names of cohorts, but many do. Another source of information is the *Notitia* or Army List of the Roman empire. This I have already mentioned. There is another set of records which give us much valuable information, and which I will now dwell on for a little, both because I have not touched on them in former lectures, and because of the collateral interest attached to them. They supply us with some important data, which assist in en-

abling us to ascertain how long most of the troops remained in Britain. The privilege of Roman citizenship was a most valuable one. Without it a man had no political status, his property was insecure, and any marriage which he might contract was unrecognised by the state. He was liable to personal indignity, and might be treated as little better than a slave. Not only was it a proud and valuable prerogative, but it is evident that means were taken to enable any one possessing it easily to establish his claim. When the apostle Paul declared that he was a Roman citizen, his statement was received without question.

Three bronze tablets of two leaves each (hence called diplomas) have been found in England. They confer citizenship and the right of marriage upon certain soldiers serving in Britain who have been twenty-five years in the army. Two of them belong to the reign of Trajan, one to the reign of Hadrian. All these military diplomas begin by giving the titles of the emperor and the year of his reign. Then comes an enumeration of the troops to whom the privilege is given. Great care is taken to have the family relationship well defined; the phrase is "*quorum nomina subscripta sunt, liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit, et connubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data, aut si caelibes essent cum iis quas duxissent, dumtaxat singuli singulas.*" That is, "he (the emperor) gives the citizenship to those whose names are written below, to them, their children, and their posterity, together with the right of marriage with those wives which they then have,

or, if they be bachelors, with those whom they may hereafter marry, provided they only marry one at a time!" The document concludes with the following particulars:—First, the names of the consuls—indicating the year; second, the name of the person to whom the citizenship is granted; third, the place in Rome where the original decree granting the citizenship is to be found engraved in bronze tablets; lastly, the names of the witnesses (six or seven) who certify as to the correctness of the copy put into the hands of each individual. These bronze tablets which have been found in England seem to have had their two leaves bound together by thongs, so as to be easily carried about upon the person. In each of them we have an enumeration of from thirteen to twenty-seven regiments (either horse or foot) of auxiliaries that were serving in Britain. The earliest of them is one found at Malpas, in Cheshire, which was issued when Trajan held the tribunitian power for the seventh time, answering to A.D. 104. In it several bodies of troops are named which were in England when the *Notitia* was compiled, A.D. 403; we have certain proof, therefore, that they were in England at least three hundred years.

But not only were these foreign troops long retained in Britain; there is certain evidence that they continued for successive centuries in the same station. Many of the altars which they have left behind them bear dates, and these warrant the supposition that the troops which

reared them remained in the same camp from the days of Hadrian to the final abandonment of Britain by the Romans. This fact leads us to important conclusions respecting the social position of the mural forces. They must have intermarried with the native population; they must have acquired, to a certain extent, their language and habits; and they must have looked upon their barracks as their adopted home. Each garrison would probably be recruited by the sons of the soldiers, by friendly natives, and occasionally by importations from the land from which it had originally come. This long-continued residence in one spot would induce the soldiery the more readily to engage in the cultivation of the neighbouring soil, and so provide for their own sustenance. These foreign troops seem, however, to have always been commanded by Roman officers. This appears from the altars and other inscriptions. Thus, on an altar found at Chesterholm, we learn that the fourth cohort of Gauls which lay there was at one time commanded by Petronius Urbicus—*ex Italia, domo Brixia*—from Italy, a native of Brixia (the modern Brescia). At all events the names of the prefects and tribunes of all the troops are Roman names. Occasionally we are informed that the commanders were natives of foreign parts; but it does not follow from that that they were not Romans by descent; they may have been born in a foreign station when their parents (Romans) were holding a command in the place. Here is an example in point. It is an altar recently discovered at Maryport.

The inscription may be translated—

To Jupiter the best and greatest; [dedicated] by the first cohort of Spaniards, having a due proportion of cavalry, commanded by Lucius Antistius Lupus Veranius, the son of Lucius, of the tribe Quirina, prefect, a native of Sicca in Africa.

This man must have been a Roman either by birth or adoption.

The system of personal nomenclature among the Romans was very peculiar, and was regulated by unalterable laws. Let us take this man's name. First of all we have his *prænomen* Lucius; that was the only part of his name which was not fixed before he was born. Next we have the name of the *gens* or clan to which he belonged, *Antistius*; this word generally, as in this instance, ended in *ius*. Next we have his father's *prænomen*, which was the same as his own, Lucius. Next we are told what tribe or electoral division in Rome he belonged to, the tribe *Quirina*. Lastly, we have the *cognomen*, or the name indicating the particular family of his *gens*. In this case it was *Lupus*; probably derived from the wolf-like characteristics of some remote ancestor. Occasionally a second *cognomen* (or *agnomen*) was added. Such is the case in this instance, the *agnomen* being *Veranius*. Now, with the exception of the *prænomen*, these names could not have been borne by any one who was not of the same *gens*, tribe, and family as he was. When a child was adopted, he dropped his own names, and assumed those of his adopting parent, with all his rights and privileges. His new name implied a different clan, a different family, and a different tribe.

We have now got the camps of the Wall garrisoned by auxiliary troops, whilst the sixth legion at York holds itself in readiness to march to any station where support might be needed, or where any turbulence might be manifested. We must not suppose that the mural garrison, carefully barricaded as it was, led a life of luxury and ease. They had a vigilant enemy to deal with—a people that could ill brook subjection to a foreigner. Amongst the relics found upon the Wall there is a marked absence of articles of luxury or intrinsic value. Numerous coins of copper and silver have been found—very few of gold. Notwithstanding the extensive excavations which have been made in the mural region during the last twenty years, not a single gold coin has been found that I am aware of. A few had been found previously. Any one going into the museums of the south of England or of France will, from the superior richness of the collections, see at a glance that greater security and comfort and luxury have been enjoyed in these places than in the north of England. Again, whenever excavations are conducted in any of the camps or mile-castles of the Wall, layers of ashes and rubbish are found; showing that all that was combustible about them has been burned, and the buildings thrown down more than once. Some of these periods of disaster can be ascertained partly by the scanty notices of historians, partly by the altars, slabs, and coins found buried in the ruins. There is a passage in Capitolinus which simply mentions that in the reign of

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus "there was danger of a war in Britain, and Calpurnius Agricola was sent against the Britons." Some remains found upon the Wall confirm this statement. In the year 1766, two poor labourers were removing the foundations of a mile-castle near VINDOBALA when they struck upon an urn containing about five hundred silver coins and sixteen gold ones. These coins are now at Alnwick Castle, and I have had the opportunity of examining and cataloguing them. The coins begin with the Republican times, and come regularly down to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The latest coin was struck A.D. 168. All the early coins were much worn, the later were sharp and fresh. When you bear in mind the number of these coins, especially of the gold pieces, the inference is probable that the treasure belonged to the military chest. The Caledonians mustering in large force and meaning mischief, the chest had been hid under the floor of the castellum. The garrison have been driven out; all who knew the secret of the deposit have been slain; and the walls of the building thrown down. When the Romans gathered force and drove back the enemy, they have quickly rebuilt the castle without removing all the *debris*. The coins therefore have been left to modern times to tell us of the alarm, the disaster, and the bloody struggle which took place a few miles to the west of PONS ÆLII within a year or so after A.D. 168.

You are all probably aware that a remarkable find of altars took place at Maryport a year or two

ago. One day I received a letter saying that two had been found; next day another letter told me four had been found; I then set off to see the marvel, but by the time of my arrival eight had been found; and before the search was concluded, seventeen had been discovered. All of these altars were found in a circular plot of ground, about 60 feet in diameter, outside the Roman camp at Maryport. The altars had been put into pits purposely prepared for their reception. The bottom of each pit was paved with "cobble" stones—one, two, or three altars, and in one instance four, were found in each pit. They had been put in with care but apparently with haste. They were covered over with loose stones and then earth. In all probability on the occasion of some onslaught of the Caledonians the garrison had been called off to some other part of the district, and before deserting the camp had buried their altars, and had not returned. Many of these altars can be proved to have been of the time of Hadrian; the latest of them are probably of the time of Antoninus Pius, the immediate predecessor of Aurelius; the commotion, therefore, which called the first cohort of Spaniards from their home at Maryport may have been the same which caused the burial of the coins near Rutchester, or it may have been one which occurred a few years later (A.D. 184), in the reign of Commodus. Dion Cassius tells us that "Commodus was engaged in several wars with the Barbarians. . . . The Britannic war was the greatest of these; for some of the natives within that island having passed

over the Wall which divided them from the Roman stations, and besides killing a certain commander with his soldiers, and having committed much other devastation, Commodus became alarmed and sent Ulpius Marcellus against them." Some slight traces of this calamity have been met with. At Chesters, on the North Tyne, is the fragment of an inscription on which the word *VLPIVS* appears. This is probably the Ulpius Marcellus in question. In front of the south gateway of the important station of *BORCOVICUS* were found a few years ago an elegant gold ear drop, a large gold ring, and a coin of Commodus, bearing the date of his third consulate (A.D. 181), and as fresh as if it had just issued from the mint. It is not improbable that these articles may have been in possession of the commander, spoken of by Dion Cassius, and his lady, when they were struck down vainly attempting to secure safety by flight.

On the first settlement of so many regiments of soldiers in the north of England, each speaking a strange language and having habits and customs of its own, society would present a strange medley. Latin, as being the language of the conqueror, would be the language of military command. It must have been very generally spoken, for we find no trace of any other language (except Greek) in the inscriptions which have come down to us. The Latin of these inscriptions is also remarkably correct. We find traces of decay or transformation in it; the latest specimens being the most imperfect. The inscriptions found on the Wall are much more correctly written than

the inscriptions found in the Catacombs of Rome. The people of the district generally must have been affected in their speech and habits by the introduction amongst them of a foreign element so large and powerful. The Celtic language of the lower orders would be considerably modified. But what the prevailing speech was at the close of the Roman occupation it is perhaps now impossible even to conjecture. The Saxon, the Danish, and the Norman waves of population which have rolled over us since that period have removed all distinct traces of the language of the district in the days of the Roman domination.

I cannot help thinking that each of the auxiliary cohorts on the Wall was allowed to use its national weapons and national modes of warfare. AMBOGLANNA (Birdoswald) was garrisoned by a cohort of Dacians. Now we know from the carvings on Trajan's column at Rome that the Dacians used a curved sword. On a slab found at Birdoswald, now in the castle of Newcastle, a sword of precisely the same kind is represented. The Romans when on horseback used saddle and bridle. Several of the sculptures which we find in our stations represent a rider fully armed sitting upon the naked back of the horse. It is well known that some tribes in a remote antiquity dispensed with both saddle and bridle, and guided the horse by the pressure of the thighs and by the touch of the hand. Some of the Elgin marbles represent riders without bridle. Now several slabs have been found at Kirkby Thore, all of which exhibit the same peculiarity; the omission

of the saddle and bridle cannot have been



accidental. The wood-cut shows one of these, which is in the museum at Lowther Castle.

There is a slab now in Alnwick Castle which was found at CILURNUM, Chesters, which also exhibits a rider without those adjuncts, which most modern Englishmen find essential to their comfort and even safety when on horseback. The Romans may have had a double purpose to serve in allowing each cohort to use its native customs. At first, at least, they would fight best in their own way; and besides, motives of jealousy may have had some influence. The Romans could not always depend upon foreign, especially conquered, allies; it would be imprudent to drill them up to their own discipline and to put their own superior weapons into their hands. The horses on the Kirkby Thore stones are small—very much like our Galloway ponies. They have long tails—the legs of the riders nearly reach the ground. We can easily conceive that this was the species of horse which prevailed in England at that time. The large swords used by these horsemen are not like Roman swords.

From the remains left by them in their camps we get some glimpses of the domestic life of the Romans. As they were located so long in one place there can be little doubt that in times of quiet they added agricultural to military duties. They would have their own herds of cattle confined between the two walls—the earth wall or Vallum, and the stone wall or *Murus*. In the neighbourhood of some stations, Housesteads for example, there are long terraces on the slope of the hill which have evidently been formed for the pur-

poses of horticulture—a mode still practised on the Continent. I have already said that at that period the land would be largely covered with bush and forest. The iron implements which remain to this day show that a large part of their labour must have consisted in clearing the country—in cutting and removing the roots which impeded their simple ploughs.

The process of grinding their corn by means of a quern must have been a tedious and troublesome one. It was, however, largely resorted to. Numerous specimens of the mill-stone are found in all the stations. Any hard stone of the district was made use of; but besides this a hard porous volcanic stone, which is found at Andernach on the Rhine, was largely imported. In all the stations of the Wall, even those most remote from the sea, this stone is met with. Britain must have had, even at this time, important commercial relationship with the Continent. It is not probable, however, that all the grain used for food would be ground in the quern. By soaking and bruising it they would more quickly render it fit for cooking. In every Roman station you find numerous stone troughs of every size and shape. I cannot help thinking that in these the grain was soaked. There is also an earthenware vessel of common occurrence, half mortar and half cooking pot, that would be useful in this way. At the bottom of this vessel, imbedded in its substance, are grains of quartz or iron scorix which would assist in the trituration

of the food. This process being effected, the mortar would be pushed among the ashes of the hearth, and its contents allowed to simmer or bake.

Nothing is more remarkable about a Roman camp than the enormous amount of the bones of animals which are found in them. It would seem as if at their meals the soldiery threw the bones they had picked upon the floor, and allowed them to remain amongst the straw of the rushes which covered it. The bones of a small species of ox are very common; so also are the bones and horns of the red deer. The antlers of the deer are unusually large. This, I am told, is indicative of the fact that they lived upon a coarse pasture. The bones and the tusks of the boar are of frequent occurrence. The forests would be favourable to the propagation of these animals. Often must the *Tungri*, who were quartered at Borcovicus, have indulged in the boar-hunt in that wide stretch of country to the north of the Wall, which is still called the Forest of Lowes, and often has a dish of brawn smoked upon their table. There is an altar now in the rectory at Stanhope, which, as the inscription informs us, has been erected to Silvanus on the occasion of the killing of a boar of enormous size, which had often before escaped the huntsman. There is an altar now at Lanercost which was erected by the *Venatores Bannienses*—the hunters of Banna.

As the capture of the denizens of the wilds was not a mere matter of sport, all methods were resorted to in order to effect it. Traps were prepared for them, and nets were planted to intercept

them. On a small stone in the museum at Chesham is a rough but spirited sketch of a stag suddenly drawing up in sight of a net which faces him. He evidently does not mean to go into it. Virgil refers to such proceedings:—

*Sæpe volutabris pulsos sylvestribus apros
Latratu turbabis agens, montesque per altos
Ingentem clamore premes ad retia cervum.*
—GEORG. III. 411-413.

In speaking of the food of the Romans, it is curious to think of how many articles of diet essential to our existence they were destitute. They knew nothing of the luxury of a baked potato. No turkey ever graced their Christmas board. To tea and coffee they were entire strangers. Their fruit tarts in the absence (more or less complete) of sugar must have been very tart. To make amends for all this there was no need for remonstrance on the part of Roman ladies respecting the use by their lords of the Virginian weed.

They were fond of fish, particularly shell-fish. There is probably not a station in the north of England, however far removed from the sea, which has not yielded the oyster—the fine small shell of the “native” from Colchester and Whitstable, as well as the coarser shell of the Scotch oyster. They did not confine their attention, however, to the prince of mollusks—the shells of the cockle, the periwinkle, the mussel, and even the limpet, are to be found in their camps; all kinds of shell-fish were acceptable to them; and if they happened to be far-fetched and long on the road, the flavour of them was doubtless enhanced thereby.

Coming; many of them, from the sunny south, where light wine is an article of food, they naturally continued the use of it in our cold clime. Fragments of broken amphoræ, or large wine jars, are found in every excavation. Still, water must have been their principal beverage; and it is remarkable how abundantly all their stations were supplied with it. At the foot of the hill on which BORCOVICUS stands, there gushes out a stream of brilliant water, cool in summer, temperate in winter, which never freezes and never fails. At CILURNUM we have the Ingle Pool, which at one time was believed to be bottomless, the outflow of which is a stream strong enough to turn a mill. Into ÆSICA, water was brought by an aqueduct five miles in length. AMBOGLANNA was supplied in a similar manner, but by a shorter channel. During one of the drouhty summers which we have had lately, the farmer at PROCOLITIA was put to much inconvenience to provide water for his cattle. Knowing the habits of the Romans he felt sure that there must be water near the station. He examined with care the whole vicinity, and observing one part of the surface less arid than the rest, he made an excavation. His sagacity was rewarded. At a slight depth he found a well, cased with Roman masonry, full of water, of which nothing was previously known. He has drawn from it ever since.

As to the military costume and accoutrements of the soldiers, we have many examples. The helmet, the breastplate, the shield, are usually

present, and we have in some cases a short sword by the right side. The civil dress seems to have consisted chiefly of a close-fitting tunic covered by a robe of greater or less amplitude. A large number of *fibulæ* or brooches of a large size have been found, which makes it probable that they held these loose-fitting garments together by means of them. Large pins of bronze and bone are also often found. Their shoes were all made right and left. What we call the upper leathers were scalloped, and the slips thus formed were fastened round the upper part of the ankle by means of a thong. They had two soles, and the lower part of the upper leather was placed between them, and fastened there by means of nails. Something like a shoemaker's shop has been found at Papcastle—a number of soles, and a whole cluster of upper leathers strung together, but not quite reduced to their proper shape, stamped with the word VICTOR, have been discovered in the course of some excavations there.

It is quite evident that the ladies were not inattentive to the duties of the toilet. They manifestly dressed their hair with great attention and great taste. If we examine the coinage of the Empire we can easily detect the varieties of fashion which took place. Here is the head of a statue found at Birdoswald—some of the ladies of Newcastle might with advantage copy the arrangement of this lady's tresses.

In traversing the Wall in the winter time, as the shades of night set in, the traveller can hardly

help feeling that the Romans must have had a dull time of it at that season of the year. Britain is not an oil producing country; except by importation, therefore, or by the use of tallow, they would be unable to mitigate the tediousness of the night. Very few lamps have been found along the Wall; Mr. Clayton, in all his excavations, has only found one. They had no newspapers or printed books to relieve the tedium of their leisure hours; their amusements would chiefly consist of the recital of stirring events in the battle field, or of some love or ghost story. It appears probable that they had a game resembling our draughts. Counters, and slabs marked out in squares, have been found. That they indulged in the sports of the amphitheatre is quite certain, but this could only be done during the hours of daylight.

As a means of ascertaining their views upon the highest of all subjects, their tombstones and their altars are the most valuable documents we possess. Their tombstones are particularly interesting. They certainly looked for a life beyond the grave. They seemed to have entertained a vague idea that the spirit on leaving the body became a species of divinity. All their funereal stones begin with the address *DIIS MANIBVS*—*to the gods, the shades*. It seems also that the funeral feast partook of the nature of a sacrifice in honour of the departed, and that these feasts were renewed at intervals, generally, perhaps, on the anniversary of the death of the person. They appear to have had a superstitious dread of the word death. They never say that the person

died on such a day, but that he lived so many years, months, and days.

It is pleasant, in these funereal monuments, to notice the heavings of affection in breasts inured to war. On one altar the mourning parents say that they erect it—*filix dulcissimæ*—to their very dear daughter; on other slabs we are told it is to a most dutiful son or daughter—*filix pientissimæ*; a wife, in rearing her husband's monument, often says it is "to her most dear spouse"—*conjugi charissimo*. Sometimes the good qualities of the deceased are mentioned. For example, in a tombstone now in the Castle of Newcastle, a gentleman tells us that his wife "lived thirty-three years—*sine ulla macula*—without having contracted the least spot upon her character."

In the vicinity of Roman camps we often find what are sometimes called pine-apple ornaments. They are imitations, on a large scale, of the fir-cone of the Italian pine. They are not unfrequently carved on the tombstones themselves. I have no doubt that these, like the concentric circles of the ancient Britons, were used as symbols of a future existence. I was told when at Volterra, an Etruscan city in the north of Italy, that if, in making an excavation, they met with one of these, they were sure to find a tomb hard by. The fir-cone contains the seed by which the plant is to be propagated, and the husk, even when deprived of the seed, is used in Italy for kindling fires. The object was symbolic of animal fire and renewed growth. In depositing the bodies of their friends in the ground they had some

vague idea that they would meet them again. Many of the tombstones give us the idea that the Romans regarded death as the setting out upon a long journey. Here is a stone from BREMENIUM, High Rochester, representing a traveller setting out. His garment is bound around him, and he has his staff in one hand, and a basket, probably containing provisions, in the other. The views of the Romans respecting the eternal world were, however, in the highest degree vague. Although not in the North of England, yet abroad, the inscription is common—*Diis Manibus et quieti æternæ*—to the gods the shades, and eternal rest.



As regards objects of worship the deities of the Romans were very numerous. Not only did they worship the greater gods such as Jupiter and Mars, but the demigods and heroes of the Pantheon were

accepted by them. Every city and village had its guardian genius—every hill, river, and mountain. Each camp, stream, and fountain, and every family had its own objects of worship. And not only so; when the Romans penetrated distant and barbaric regions they feared giving offence to the deities even of their enemies, and erected, as we have already observed, altars to their honour.

There is one species of worship, of which we have numerous specimens on the Wall, which strikes us with surprise—they deified their emperors. We often meet in inscriptions with the expression *numini Augusti*—to the deity of the emperor. Augustus was the first to introduce the deification of a deceased ruler. After the murder of Julius he adroitly availed himself of the appearance of a new star in the heavens to persuade the people that the departed emperor had taken his place in the skies. It became usual after that to canonize emperors on their death. Some, however, claimed divine honours in their life time. Caligula claimed to be a god while living. Domitian styled himself in documents lord and god. Pliny tells us that the roads to the capitol were filled with flocks and herds that were being driven to be sacrificed before his image. Döllinger, in his "Gentile and Jew," reckons that between the first deification of Cæsar and the apotheosis of Diocletian, fifty-three solemn canonizations took place, fifteen of which were of ladies belonging to the imperial family. It may seem to many a matter of perfect indifference whether you

worshipped Jupiter or the emperor. But not so. Jupiter could do you no harm, but the emperor could. If you refused divine honours to the tyrant who wore the purple, you were liable to be punished for blasphemy, and burnt, or thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre.

No one has turned his attention to the religion of the Romans in Britain without earnestly and anxiously asking the question—Are there any traces during the Roman period of the introduction of Christianity into the island? It is quite certain that Christianity was widely diffused throughout the earth before the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain. The existence of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, his having preached and died in Rome, the cruel persecutions that were enacted there by Nero and other emperors, prove the existence of an important Christian church in the seven-hilled city at a very early period. We cannot doubt that many of the soldiers who came from Rome to Britain had imbibed the Christian faith, and it is perfectly certain that a man can hardly be a Christian who does not try to impart to others the blessings of which he is a partaker. But how could he communicate the precious truth which gave light to his own soul? He might have a small portion of one of the gospels in MS., but it would only be a small portion. Truths passed verbally from one to another are apt to become blended with error. Still it is wonderful how, in favourable circumstances, even though the means be of the feeblest character, the leaven of the Gospel

works. We have no direct means of knowing to what extent the Gospel had been propagated. In what manner would we expect the Christian soldiers or natives to testify their belief? The best way was by leading a holy life. In times of persecution they would not ostentatiously exhibit their faith, though they would still seek in privacy to propagate it; and when challenged, they would boldly declare it. They have left us no altars inscribed with the name of the true God. Why should they? The "one offering" on which they relied rendered further propitiation unnecessary. The only sacrifice required of them was an entire dedication of themselves to the service of the Most High. Some persons think that they might have erected crosses in conspicuous places, or at least have carved them upon their tombs. The cross, it is admitted on all hands, is an emblem of much earlier date than the Christian era. We meet with it amongst the ruins of Assyria and Babylon. Sir Robert Ker Porter describes a stone in the tomb of Daniel which had on it a regularly formed Greek cross. It was carved on the walls of the Temple of Serapis, in Egypt. Even the monogram of Constantine is found on some Athenian tetradrachms and bronze medallions of the Ptolemies. We need not here inquire what meaning the heathen world attached to the symbol; suffice it to quote the opinion of the Rev. John Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland. He says:—"The cross, in Gentile rites, was the symbol of reproduction and resurrection." But, whatever its signification, the early Christians did not adopt

it as the emblem of their faith. It does not occur as a symbol of Christianity in any of the inscriptions of the first four centuries, though it became very abundant towards the end of the fifth century. We must not, therefore, from the absence of direct testimony to the fact, conclude that Christianity had not made considerable progress in the North of England before the close of the period of Roman domination. We have some indirect evidences that it had. We find along the Wall extensive traces of the worship of the Persian god, Mithras. This deity is identical with the sun, which is the chief agent in the universe of God of producing vitality and growth. He represented the productive powers of nature; his worship was equivalent to the Pantheism of the present day. No other deity was tolerated along with him; he was supposed to reign supreme. In consequence, perhaps, of the immoralities which were connected with the worship of Mithras, successive emperors did all they could to suppress it. Under such circumstances, its extensive prevalence in the mural regions is remarkable. The true explanation of it seems to be, that the spread of Christianity had rendered untenable the polytheism of Greece and Rome, and that those who were only "almost Christians" took refuge in the worship of "Nature."

We have another proof of a conflict of opinion in the mural region during the Roman period. Several altars bear the inscription, *DIVS VETERIBVS*—"To the old gods." Such a dedication would not have occurred if new modes of faith had not arisen. Those who still adhered to Jupiter,

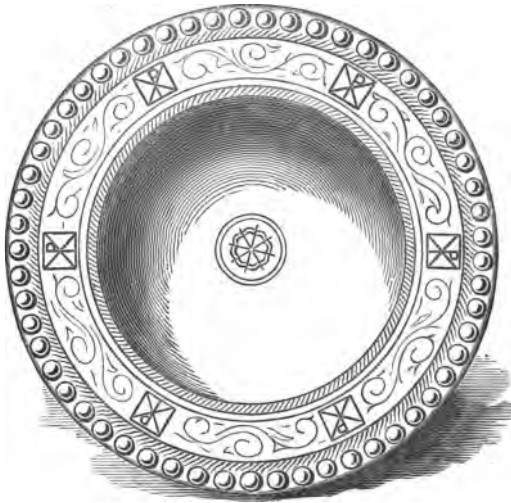
Mars, and the other deities of heathen Rome, erected these altars as opposed to the worship either of the One Living God or Mithras.

There are some few indications of a more direct character of the overthrow of idolatry in Roman times. Part of an altar dedicated to Jupiter had been used as a common building stone in the erection of one of the guard chambers of the north gateway at BORCOVICUS. Some thoughtless person has removed it. In the camp of Caerleon, in South Wales, a gutter stone was found which had been formed out of an altar to Fortune. These and other instances, which might be adduced, seem to show that it had been found out that an idol was nothing.

At length Constantine professed Christianity, and inscribed upon his banner the *Chi* and the *Rho*, constituting the Constantian monogram. Christianity came into vogue, and the monogram was extensively used. A silver cup (shown on the opposite page), found in the Tyne near Corbridge, of late workmanship, has on it this symbol six times repeated.

Eventually the Roman domination in Britain came to an end. When the *Notitia* was compiled, about A.D. 403, the second legion had been removed from Caerleon to RUTUPLE, Richborough, in Kent. The twentieth legion, which had been stationed in the city of Chester, nowhere appears in its pages. It had probably been previously taken to the Continent. About the year 410, when the Goth was battering at the gates of Rome, the second and sixth legions

were finally withdrawn from the Island. As many of the auxiliary troops as could be induced to accompany them, doubtless went to the protection of the capital; but many of them, through their family connexions, would be constrained to remain behind, and to bear as best they could the brunt of Northern invasion. The latest inscription found in Britain to which a date is



attached, belongs to the reign of Constantine the Great, about A.D. 308. No coins, so far as I remember, have been found in any of the camps of the North of England which bear a later date than the reign of Gratian, which extended from A.D. 367 to 383. Rome after this herself needed all the help she could get; she could give none.

At length, the Caledonians burst upon the enfeebled and deserted stations of the Wall. Everything was destroyed; what fire could not consume was hurled down or broken in pieces. Ruin reigned supreme for centuries. Race strove with race for the mastery. The wars between England and Scotland made life uncertain, and property comparatively valueless. Here and there a castle or a pele-tower, constructed frequently out of the ruins of the Wall or the Roman stations, enabled a few hardy Borderers to stand their ground—all else was wilderness.

The union of England and Scotland rendered the reign of law once more possible. Population increased; knowledge and religious principle were widely diffused; and, as the result of all, the North of England is now a land of industry and joy—albeit the Roman legion no longer bears sway over us.

May they who, in subsequent centuries, write the history which we of the present generation are moulding, be enabled to testify that we have emulated all that was good in our ancestors; that we have held firmly, and transmitted to posterity, all the benefits which our forefathers bequeathed to us; and that we ourselves have done something to render the world better and happier!

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